

241 On the cane plantations
 462 the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs com-
 857 posed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization:
 men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves,
 and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox
 carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible
 from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men,
 592 women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in
 462 processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is
 857 characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family
 tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field
 work.

461 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical
 565 work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to
 be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled
 in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is
 given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and
 occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather
 cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and
 exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the
 countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension
 of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its
 own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost
 any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo
 461 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent
 147 character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy
 of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by
 perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.²⁷

258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca [438] is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually
471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of
[454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange [427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment [464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing [592] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the [462] roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported
[439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally [443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the idades
of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the [464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dóres, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization.

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá.

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house.

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the

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[Town Life]

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which
529 has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally
[546] located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men
743 and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also
873 runs a night school for adults.

463 Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists
[571] mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons
[462] in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty
462 clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their
463 heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After
[482] soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be
[463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 Many women also prepare xangô, a small sardinelike fish
252 caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recôncava
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[Town Life]

vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr\$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr\$25,00 to Cr\$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima³ who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr\$100,00 and Cr\$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr\$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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 • 462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
 438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
 251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
 [443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers,
 is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from
 [361] the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
 [571] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
 (476) upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
 for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under
 the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ
 the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building
 or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative
 labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a
 house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron
 will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the
 mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost
 involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
 312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
 [313] are several men and women in town who make a business of
 carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual.
 A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water
 a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not
 have enough money for these services they must carry them
 out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water
 is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry
 up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51,
 all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued
 to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This
 well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only
 drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as
 a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty
 minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result,
 there were always long lines of women waiting for water,
 and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common.
 Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two
 or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
 trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
 This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people
 [821] in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman
 [492] would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement,
 the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

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- 226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.
- 226 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr\$1,000,00 to Cr\$1,500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr\$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr\$1,500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is almost the same as that of the larger net, it requires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.
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[461] On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread.
- 227 [824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.
- 227 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are paid Cr\$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It
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following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping.

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dízimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there.

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangô, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation.

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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[Class C Families]

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring-dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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days when their husbands cannot go. The wives of fishermen also have to cook meals at different times in the day for their husbands, who generally bring enough fish from the last catch for one or two meals. It is the woman who goes to the store for farina, coffee, beans, rice, and so on. Their evenings are usually spent at home sewing, making or mending a net either for their husbands or for someone else. If there is a samba they may go and watch but seldom stay long, but if there is a candomblé ceremony they may spend the whole night there, especially if they participate in it. In such a case they often take their children with them and put them to sleep in the house, or else put them on a bench to watch the proceedings.

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The institute has broken down the pattern of the practical midwife, known locally as parteira or curiosa, since one of the first things done when it opened in 1945 was to have several young girls trained in Salvador as midwives. Up to that time, however, there had only been older women, who through experience and sometimes through necessity had taken on the job of midwives. In the rural area the untrained midwife is still important, for the clinic has not yet made itself felt to the majority of people living there. When the time comes for the birth of a child, a neighbor or perhaps a relative comes into the house to cook and clean and look after the other children, and occasionally to assist with the birth. The father continues his usual round of occupations, as most women put it, "earning enough to feed another mouth." In some cases the man helps with the housework when he is home, and there are several men in the town who are good cooks and who can look after the children. In other cases the midwife may stay several days in the house, doing all these things. Recently, however, as a result of the death of one midwife and the resignation of two trained ones of the institute, the other two have been so busy that they cannot spend much time in any one house. A common complaint because of this is that the midwife tries to hurry the birth, massaging the woman's abdomen, and frequently attempting to induce birth before the normal time.

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The most popular midwife in town rarely has a chance to rest. She is in her seventies and is frequently in a state of exhaustion from caring for households where a birth has taken place. She sleeps there, usually on a grass mat since the mother occupies the only bed. She serves in the rural area also, as well as on the islands facing the town. Payment for

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de ralo). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

[SALVADOR]

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The Arts

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In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the

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realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored

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people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the

social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as

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soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

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Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at

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present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and

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"whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of